

- New situation : War is big, endless

Esc is believable

Endless air war, US pressure, ~~belivable~~

(If sit. remained as in 1969 - early '70,
forget it — until NVN attacked, as ~~the~~

Askin my have expected?

In Jan 70, I was prepared to stay at

RAND : Till Chau -

Chau (ad...) made me cut loose,

despite unpromising environment, politically.

Green Best case (after Ketter)

(First prepared to cut out : Sept-Oct 69

(August : looked unpromising

Boring is as America as cherry pie

System 23: Note the stability of the boring
"solution" as the "problem" varied or changed.

(e.g. to build on GVN strength, improvement;

to compensate for lack of GVN strength + improvement.

to get us committed; to cover our retreat;

to substitute for US troops; to complement US troops
(even, to reduce US presence) (make the effort)

to deter NVN from infiltrating; to punish for infiltrating,
hold down infilt.

to provide GVN stability; to compensate for lack of
stability.

Quagnier

Prison

~~Explain~~ Strategic Machine.

1961 mission to Saigon

(I wrote on dilemmas - presided
T & R - ~~of~~ improving - yet always
assumed they had proposed solutions -
~~assumed~~ looked improving - I stayed
away - assumed JFK had wanted to plant
flag (chain of crises.....)

Reinstated's Presidential Power: BPM

(Manip. of Congress... 1964-65

Lying by the Pres (later saw this as basis
for the "sin": lying to the Pres; and for
same reasons).



(Johnson:
Primer)

34A

Bundy Working Group

"invasion" - regular units

Spring: buildup of troops (Kilby)

50,000 - 100,000 -

White Paper
atrocities...

Preface

How Aug 69 I was unique
been in field (concern for V.Nee)
in New...
read PP

One of 3 who read PP (Hobbs)
("ad")

[Before Menden - Lavois: Min 8, -

Drama of quest to understand how -
hidden history

RAND ^{after} (missile gap...) seen as "error" [!]

Drama of McN Study - in Truth Special room;
^{Goldwater '64}
in G. had had leaked
a sec, soon fired - fortally info

truth - at end of lost war - decides to bid out -
collects docs, soon to be scattered...
free to bid truth | I had worked too long...
ordered up those studies...

If war is the health of the Executive branch,
small "limited wars" with large potential, along with
major crises and secret wars, are most invigorating
of all for the influence ~~and power~~^{standing importance} of the group closest to
the President.

Darling -

I'd cut even more from inserts - I feel its another piece you're writing here - & it definitely stops the flow -

I've indicated on the second sheet here what I think might stay in -

Also I put light ^{pencil} marks on margins on inserts between p 30 + 31 - so you could

tell more easily.

Not sure what I suggest ~~stay~~ should stay, has sufficient continuity - (I'm a bit groggy) but I hope it might be helpful

As for the torture quotes - I starred the ones I found most chilling I wouldn't use more than a couple

As for the Congressional Testimony - I wouldn't put much in - if any -

1st - its coming out in the other book

2nd - The Theme is so coherent as responsibility of officials - in terms of policy-makers -

Lastly - Its a really fine piece as it is - beautiful in fact! (over) -

Review of
belaboring it -

One other point -

At the end - p 42

I suggest cutting part
about McNamee etc - where
I've indicated -

~~It~~ I find it jarring -

P.S. Can't urge strongly enough
that you don't overburden this piece -

Wf "Murder"? Then, & now

end of intro, is preface to the;

✓ This is preface to what is happening now.

✓ This is what I saw - Sept 69 - who & gave PP.

Problem: to make public believe }
can } PMS
act } VNM
completing.

(c.g. Cigarettes)

Dino

Murder: origins
(conspiracy)

under of VNM

lack of compelling US interest (PP, 1965 on
down)

NSSM told him: - total VNZ won't work

- binding won't work (CIA, SA...)

He gambled that was wrong.

to non gambling.

Banking didn't prevent Tet

(Went - frankly
disregard)

or this new offensive.

✓ quote Fulljett:

1st Spring continued.

— Quote Alsop, on Joe Nick? 1967
act. of desperation A of O

✓ — 4 year cycle ~~19~~ 1946

1950

1954

✓ If they are back

1958

back now...

1962-62

1965-65

1968

1972

✓
Fulljett: HCL quote on "democracy"

✓
Murch:

WSM said: Bailey will work

Peter UNZ will work

✓ gambled

✓ End of intro — before to Murch

✓ Murch — before to what is happening

Intro: 18 - Conspir. style

19 - HAK

36 - Prof. notes in Fulllight in

39 - Shaver

Murder in Law

1-2 PP

35 refs ✓

204 NISSM-1

207: PP

36 ref ✓

209 - Raids now, ✓

38 - quote on Don Rep ✓

212 - quote PP

40 - quote McG BV

quote JCS on
bombing...

30 and NYT -

bombs - ...

56 - quote Martin ✓

Bundy 657

in relation from

82 - quote PP

quote Austin

Good doctor 314

McG B

83 quotes on coercion

1971 civ cas?

88 cite...

refs?

93 - refer to this, in Intro. App. 92-93

Called me "war criminal" to advertisement - seemingly
related - conts; 11 to info, note available (see Globe)
12 to main questions of law, right

Aim with officials ("I want to change
sides"...) respons., accountability
to restrain situation,
not guilty, or imprisonment: freedom to act, to enlighten
among...

from Elliot...

✓ Murder Prof, or Com Check note: struggle with Pres --
These plans of [unclear]

Qing: Please included

✓ To Ted - reviewer, on needs of production specialist.

Mo. to For. Rel. Com

(see this report; talk to staff...)

reaction of people named? (say I asked it to be met?
of lawyers? 34X...

Conf with those who worked on papers:

Chasby, et al

✓ Rodley... IPS

NPT, Globe Post, Dispatch, NPT

give least to... Austin, Canada; Valley chapter

devi forces - bound of nation.

Last task before diving to finish - add refs to PP

to this, i plan of some cryptic refs to own role. Let

carried away, looking at PP again - For from full account

of 1964-65 - I know now the how to say how short

notices of officials, now report - mention, made

gathering offshore with largest firm - history of marked,

with HE. 20 P 750 B-52 sorties = 100 B-52's = 3000 C 10,000 = 2 1/2 B-52's a week.

Elliot?
w/ [unclear]

Prague Paper

As I started 1961 history, I knew, of 1964-65:

1. Inside perimeter — covered. Ambiguities covered.

Realistic reporting.

2. Decisions taken in this mood, ^{not earlier: or later...} (contrast to ~~1964~~ - 64, when they were postponed).

3. Postponed because of politics... 1964

4. Activities, evidence, played up. (White Paper; Friedman).

5. 34A

RT... Foughter; Kase

6. Scale of commitment hidden: Combat role; ~~100,000~~ 100,000

7. Mil. proposals ^{rejected} ~~ignored~~ (body, mobilization); this, Pres responsibility.

Preface

As I started PP, I felt... Prospects + Problems

PREFACE: War is Peace, etc.

Smaller War

[Mush - Kase?]

(and: Bruesen...)

(explain how it got public;

Steadman... RAND man.

?

[8. Hidden, unmentioned complexity of actions: not revealed in PP.]

9. Wash. ignorance of "rules of engagement"; arguments

on GVN POWs...

10. GVN well appreciated: corrupt profits.

But I thought all this was exceptional (like monthly politics).

Around 1961 difficult: see Halliburton,

Abrams on Taylor recommendations; ^{or} optimism of 1962-63.

(which Halliburton extrapolated back to 1961.)

Likewise, 1954; 1950; 1946

Zinn

Bath interview & does

King, Austin
Halliburton...

NBC

RD, Va - we are there

- a ruling class can reform itself

- foreign reporters will force it to -

or are willing to see it reform

(or fail)

anti-Com Natly is worse than...

X Not buying time, but buying war; ^{with deaths...} buying the
hard to sell an endless war - a stratagem.

Call it (delayed Victory; not delayed

X i.e. to get out of office without defeat - all that Defeat)

was offered - it was always enough, ... its point of view

Half - Passchendaele prior to Pres, though not to public...

"The minds and morals of the world's

leaders had been determined with some

expectations..."

(10 mill. dead)

X Policy is adapted to S-R interests of Pres (not "good for the country")

✓ Anti: HAK - OE "Bad in the things..."

✓ Murder: ~~Le May~~ ^{Le May}; PP, III, 550-52, 26 Aug 54 + 564
"will & capability"

✓ - ~~Eliot~~ ^{acting chairman, VCS} lines

Quay: JTM draft report 687
685

when? ~~mid~~ of heavy rain - 1972?

108 in 1971

750,000 t

66 by 26 Feb '72

Pan, Kor

Can Check: reasons to: use violence, torture
use lies

Eper ≠ Now

right to lie, conceal, (torture
kill)

34A as US

Reader's contemplation

Import of secrecy — ability to lie

\ Eper deciding what people should know

Cost your whole vote

Now 3 — invitation to be scrupulous

300,000 inv = US losses in WWII 10x Pop?
= ~~thousands~~ inv killed in WWII 3x pop?

NIXON speaks May; Now 3; thousands; next action

Amount of VNZ

HAK - RAMJET runs

Condition — like waiting for K to be installed in Hawaii

Secrecy, deception: But on US will to be lied to.

(Secrecy as a resource, to be used to compensate
for lack of US troops or bombing or whatever would
win, be effective.)

("What do you do about toilet-training?
Lie.")

Secrecy Compts

class escalation; W/An vs. 1st Amendment
wasn't data (NIE) RAND with C, L as part of Strategic Medicine
has still relevant. 73% went out; immoral, inept?
Wg? possible

Jacki: energy. World without energy?!

refs: Deming

Intro:
~~Quag~~ class-based foreign policy. (fn on McGin
McGB - good doctor III, 3/14

MURDER - Prof:

Vs. Law... 1967

Bernada; MTH; Balte; RAND (moral); Dissent ("even if")

Goodell/MCC; NYT... GOAL - stop war before
esc, before next NYT; prevent esc; but war despite
low cost... "What's wrong with it?" NOW

Intro: Change of party, Pres, budgets, public opinion
Congress;

Hopeful: - Pres need to lie

(vs. Public need not to know)

War is a campaign issue - even before April!

fn - names of prisoners

Mrs 8, Wallach, Bob, Randy, Vinnie

SC-43984

Bombing: POSEY

1 or April 15, Harvard Square - Fullbright

CFIA

Harvard?

The day RFK died - and war, it turned out, extended
war for at least 7 years.

Invitation to testify - postponed by Pres speech
3 Adams of Dies

Russ - Class basis of VC - war as new

✓ Guma student

✓ Subochia

✓ I to Alex; French to Algeria: ^{rapalm}
relocation
upheld - Sakist
torture.

✓ Glad - Simon de B...

✓ Didn't know Phils, Indians...

✓ About to torture... but didn't find it (except Warr). (Fall).
✓ Herbert.

PP - language of torturers.

X Hiroshima

X Hitler

Stalin - Mao

(Korea;

(I wanted to go in
Harvard - Korean student

she, Edm
HO - DBP

With

I to med & Edm: Nasser as Hitler.

French to Algeria

--- torture ---

} is/is not dismantled by Pearl Harbor

left " by Stalin (Mao; Korea)

Korea = WWII

Rash Small Nations: K - Hitler

Rash; Hitler, P.H.

US like Gums, Japs? (RFK - Tojo)

Mind invasion of Cuba twice.

from language of torturers...

Hiroshima: racism, abys.

Junior officers of World War II

fought monsters & lay there — looked into the abyss...

✓ Call Margaret — & tape Hilberg, Congress...

✓ clearing Roberto...

Others had some reaction — to be hidden...
22 — Didn't occur to ask: How did these come about —
see Const. & human crisis — but nothing.
How do we establish control — and keep our
fingers on the button?

✓ Away of Suburban home in August, 1945...

No a Com

We a superpower — couldn't accept defeat

Right dumbered Koolhaas

RFR — "Are we Gods?..."

✓ Right, * Congress, discredited by Depression & by
Pearl Harbor — both of which overruled the
judgment & control. Left discredited by Stalin (Kies, Fuchs,
Rosenbergs; Czechs, British, East Europe; Korean "aggression," UN
condemnation). (Unions & Union funds, senior, welfare... corruption...)
& from Truman — Adlai Stevenson Democrat.

Any material he can go over over
weekend -
Senate testimony

- ✓ 12 - delete CW (letter)
- 13 PP (PP-1)
- 14 - Transition? Earlier - end of deft...
GPO, 9, 220 - by whatever means - SEA

✓ 16 "I am not Hitler" - K

✓ 16 or attack

— 18 - torturer - later

— 19 PP

20 [Is it possible that the Republic abandoned McG
in order to "lose" in Indochina & Korea?]

21 - relate to "good doctor"

III-621

Also, pressure of belief we could win in VN -
and Ray McAnulty / Revilo

CW → Epic

looks to the right

But unwilling to admit, failure...
dist to risks...

COJ/RTK

22 - NATO plea - continued to use was first.

Stennis

22 - willingness to risk, of crisis who oppose plea.

23 - Fulllight - Headquarters.

— new strategy

26 - TE Summary

27 - quote JCS, Brown

→

(Note to Quagmire)

1. War could go on - unilateral that
(not "must" or even will")
2. Commitment...
3. People + foreign policy — + Congress...
Standards?

US Policy for More Politics?

Note to quagmire: Not saying just politics.

26 - new war - LW

27 - quote Huntington on Korea

Bomb - Caladna - 140,000 t

"Lesser evil."

28 - Congress, Pres, etc. Standards, foreign policy

INTRO?

Exe vs. democracy, Filibuster; act as if evil;
all had been kind to (even Pres)

Pres: War vs. democracy, First Amendment.
Need for secrecy, lies

29 - PP

delete?

my memo 110

201 - 202

ref. to Fulbright testimony

30 - PP (Fischer)

PP

344 as US operation

Murder in Laos

✓ "No wider war" Batten 264

Tenki Half!

Wider than what?

Batten:

Quater: McN on 344 265

Rusk, 266

✓ Background:

JTM - an escalating military stalemate.

X A murder

VCS - will + capabilities

✓ PP, II 179 ✓

31 - for Alsop, future.

Ray Kiker

32 - delete - ref. to Berlin

- 325th - "you can't get away with this" Alsop will
drawn - like Cuba II.

- Has ~~the~~ Pres been elected to do this? Has Cabinet
murder been copied
to Senate to...

Bad Maynes

489 - 7430

Finally, I could give account of what I believed...
what I hoped to help accomplish... what I had
to believe... Sam applies to superior...
[with "Control of Disarmament"?...] but... Spies.

Conspiracy - McN
provocations...

Conspir. style...

- Sense of urgency; hard-working, dedicated... heavy work...

- Complexity of motives: e.g. WPB - negot., withdrawal... VTM; Bell: stay in zone...
- had been going on a long time

not shown in
PP, along with
pol. (& friends
econ) (& Pres)

- oth side hid (NVN secret lack of (inf. to mid-pl) Quesada)
- kept hiding: everyone reports VC... knowledge Kahn, 75,000

(- Belief in LW - vs. "masses")

= NVN "atrocities" - 10 Feb, Qui Nhon

Albert W. Wright
w/ing booklet

after fall '64

McG B; Jordan, White Paper (infiltrator): election, change
infiltrator also to the

- I was upset on VC "terror" - which I saw in Mafia context

(I had studied bombings in Chicago - in small cities - resented
them in VTM speech), not insurgent:

Pat - You are guilty. What do oth voices say?

Murder in Laos 550-551 4 May...

3A
150 172

564

+

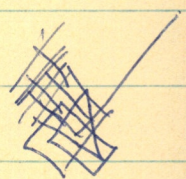
In London, someone is collecting accounts of IRA
bombings, just as before in Palestine, Kenya, Cyprus,
the so-called "troubles" in Ireland (is all of which)

"terrorism" - the weapon of the weak - was the main form
of insurgent violence. heroic forces
proch. is of insurgency, sum of exploiting, resenting, harm entire
ignoring of history

Antioch - "Now I'm confused." I went over with

strong sense of moral indignation - specially incubated against
"sentimental" identification with "revolutionary" cause: Zaslav & VC cruelty.

33 - quote RAMJET
+ draft NSAM...



35 - facts --- other than 1964 65 -

36 - guilt not guilty - but I should be!

36 - quote from Fullbright testimony - "not your war"

Dem Party. set us in for that - now, we'll
get us out, for that.

Scholar: McN

McPherson:

Wander: 1969, 1972 2 MT later

Reagan/Williams:

HAK: Shaw: Best protection of its
severest critics

Stennis/
Congress.
lack of filibuster,
refusal to take
respons.

Not the only reason that stayed around - the only
one that applied here - enough - i.e. any reason
Conspirator is good enough.

SOLUTION: Not new man; or angels. People take respons; demand
candidates accept mandate, commit;
Auschwitz builders:
demand of Congress, it change itself
+ Adam...

Intro:

Lies by Pres: phases...

subject for. hole to democracy
[despite fear of "also,"
or worse!]

need for secrecy: ^{in present} + lies: + ignorance of history...

All this made it possible to go on - but also, necessary!

warfare, crisis-management, helicopters and "air cavalry": all of these have recently been viewed as ^{the} romantic obsessions of the civilian planners; but they had another side, though by no means does it greatly extenuate either the delusions that came to accompany them or the uses to which they were put. It is my guess that these and many other projects of civilians and some military in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations--including much of our effort in Vietnam--must be understood, in large part, as tactics in an "argument" or struggle with much of the military and its conservative support in Congress, the media, corporations and the public over the necessity to base our defense and to wage the Cold War primarily on nuclear weapons. In this hidden ^{debate} ~~conflict~~, there was ^a strong incentive for the civilian officials to demonstrate that success was possible in Indochina without the need either to compromise ^{the} Cold War ^{of success} ~~criteria~~ or to threaten or use nuclear weapons. And in large military bureaucracies, necessity is the mother of illusion--and brutality.

Such concerns, semi-hidden ^{covert} (for it was seen as dangerous to lend substance to the active suspicions of military staffs and their Congressional allies that there were high Administration officials who didn't love the Bomb) joined with the premises discussed earlier to provide a framework of attitudes that enabled "liberal, humane" individuals to carry out a war like the one in Vietnam. In stark terms: compared to the probable behavior, as they saw it, either of the Communist "enemy" or of their domestic rivals, civil and military, any evil they might be doing seemed surely to be a "lesser evil." Thus, for example, though they have unleashed twelve megatons of firepower on the people and terrain of Indochina, they have done so in such a way as to hold the Indochinese casualties well below those produced by a fraction of that firepower in